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THE ECOLOGICAL RELATIONS OF THE POLAR ESKIMO

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Introduction

The Polar Eskimo, who inhabit the northwest portion of Greenland contiguous to the waters of Smith Sound, are the northernmost people in the world. Along eight hundred miles of desolate shore, from Cape Seddon in latitude 76 to the Humboldt Glacier in latitude 79° north, they have persisted for centuries as a unique little social group of about two hundred and fifty individuals, quite successful in their hard struggle for existence by an almost perfect adaptation to the rigorous conditions of their far northern homeland. Their number, determined by the years of minimum food supply, has probably never been much greater or much smaller than now.

Their homeland, though extensive, is small in area because the Greenland ice-cap, which covers practically all the high plateau of Greenland, restricts all life to a narrow belt along the shore, free of ice and snow during the short summer. Their climate, though Arctic, is essentially oceanic. The periods of continuous day and continuous night are longer than those with any other people.

So simple and so direct is the relationship between the Polar Eskimo and their environment that it offers a most definite and interesting study in the adaptation of the human animal to the circumstances of his habitat. The causal sequence of modifying and determining influences is not difficult to trace, and the resultant social and economic organization is not confusing or intricate. But this clear, direct relationship is fast becoming obscured by the introduction of external factors; and consequent upon a closer and more continuous contact with foreign peoples, the group is fast changing its character and culture. In another decade or two the demoralization of the Polar Eskimo as a distinct, quite independent group, will have been accomplished.

This paper is an attempt to present concisely and clearly this originally simple and direct response of the Polar Eskimo to their environment, and to point out the significant and determining factors in their habitat.

Racial Status

The Eskimo are a distinct race with distinct character, language and culture. Small of stature but of powerful physique, the Eskimo compare favorably in physical development with the most splendid races in the world. They possess some characteristics of the North American Indian in form and figure. Some characteristics link them with the Mongolian. Nevertheless they are a distinct race, with their own distinctive language, and their own peculiar culture.

The total number of Eskimo probably does not exceed 40,000. This number is scattered in small villages from Angmagsalik in East Greenland to Pitlekai in Northeast Siberia, almost half the earth's circumference on the Arctic Circle, and from Makkovik on the mid-Labrador Coast to Anoritok in Northwest Greenland. Though their range is so extensive, the area of their occupancy is small, because everywhere they frequent only a narrow strip of coastal territory. They are essentially, by character and culture, a shore-dwelling people.

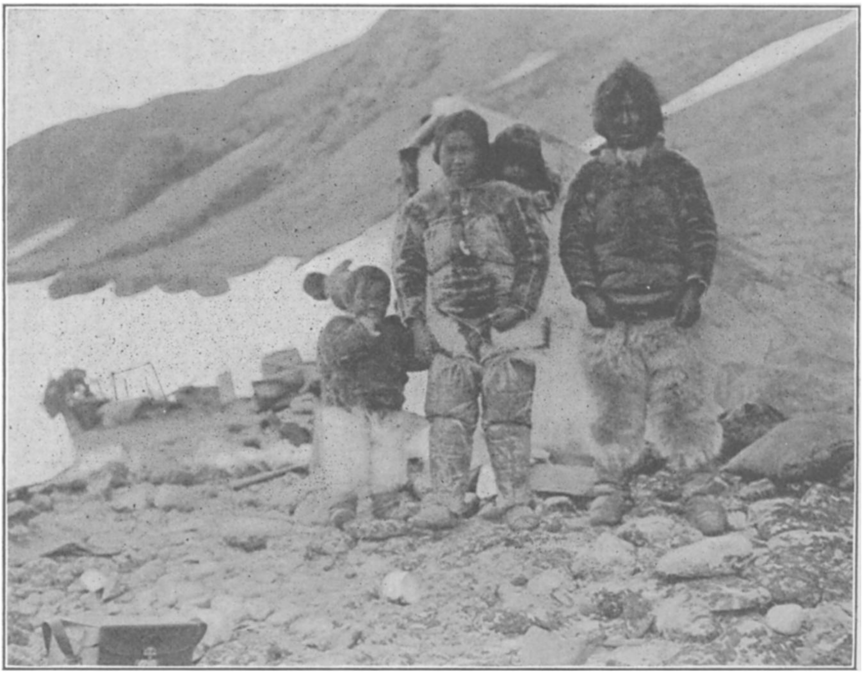

FIG. 1. Polar Eskimo family beside a toopik (summer hut) on the beach, showing clothing of skins. (Photograph by E. O. Hovey, June, 1916. By courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.)

Despite their sparse and widespread distribution they present a remarkable homogeneity in character, language, and culture. The extreme Arctic type and the extreme Subarctic type, the extreme Eastern group and the extreme Western group, all are strikingly similar. An Eskimo from Angmagsalik in East Greenland could probably make himself understood in talking with one from East Cape in Siberia, so essentially similar is their language. An Eskimo from the Yukon Delta could probably support himself with the implements, dress, and artifacts of his racial brother in the Godhaab district, so fundamentally alike are their cultures.

This racial homogeneity is probably partly due to a relatively recent dispersal from the ancestral home center. The inherent permanence of Eskimo racial character is possibly in part responsible; but probably the most powerful factor is the restrictive influence of the monotonously rigorous environment throughout their range.

Though the Polar Eskimo represent the extreme development of the Arctic type of culture, even as they occupy the northermost frontier of their race, they differ so slightly from the rest of the race that any variance can readily be ascribed to a corresponding variance in the local habitat. They conform to the general racial type.

Historical Perspective

The weight of opinion seems inclined to the theory that the ancestral home of the Eskimo is in America, either on the mainland between the Mackenzie River and the Hudson Bay, or in the archipelago just to the north. The evidences of language, tradition, and culture indicate a radiating dispersal from this center along several routes; to the westward along the coast of Alaska and Siberia; to the northward and northeastward among the islands of the Archipelago and down the coasts of Greenland; to the eastward and southeastward along the shores of Hudson Bay, Ungava, and Labrador; in almost every case along the coasts.

The Polar Eskimo constitute a relic of the last wave of migrants which swept down the west Greenland coast subsequent to 1000 A.D., displacing the Norse settlements then established there, and a later element introduced in the middle of the nineteenth century by an immigration of several families from Baffin Land, who introduced new elements into the culture of the natives, and profoundly modified their mode of life.

As a consequence of these two elements in the group the Polar Eskimo exhibit two distinct types. One of these, represented by the descendants of the earlier settlement, is characteristically Eskimo—short and stocky of stature, round and flat of face, flat of nose, stolid of countenance, and with a tendency to *piblokto,* a form of Arctic hysteria. The other type, represented by the descendants of the later immigration from Baffin Land is suggestive of the Indian—taller, lither body, higher cheek-bones, longer face, almost aquiline nose, alert countenance, and absence of *piblokto.*

Until discovered by Ross in 1818 the Polar Eskimo had been separated from the rest of the world for centuries and consequently they had not been affected by any influence foreign to their homeland. Transient contact with whalers, traders, and explorers from the time of their discovery until the beginning of the twentieth century, produced no visible effect in their character or culture. But within the last two decades there has been rapid modification by more constant connection with the external world through several successive Arctic expeditions, the establishment of Knud Rasmussen's trading station at North Star Bay, the coming of Danish Greenland Eskimo, including missionaries and teachers, and the extension of Danish authority to the Smith Sound Region.

Edaphic Factors

Northwest Greenland, the homeland of the Polar Eskimo, comprises the peninsular portion of the Greenland coast lying between the great glaciers two hundred miles in width which debouch upon Melville Bay to the south, and the Humboldt glacier 60 miles in width which debouches upon Kane Basin to the north. These glaciers, natural boundaries to the region, have served as formidable barriers to habitation north and south, and to ready travel and intercourse with the Eskimo to the south.

This peninsular region extends over 3 degrees of latitude, from about 76 to about 79 degrees north, and over 8 degrees of longitude, from about 64 to 72 degrees west. Though the group occasionally hunts and travels beyond this area, this is their permanent and distinctive homeland. It is bisected by Inglefield Gulf, a deep indentation with several considerable tributary fjords. Wolstenholme Sound again bisects the southern half and Foulke Fjord bisects the northern half. At the mouths of all three of these bays lie islands of varying size. Numerous other smaller bays indent the coast so that the entire coast line is between eight hundred and one thousand miles in length. The entire coast fronts toward the west and the southwest, with great stretches of cliff facing south and southwest.

The waters that wash the shores of this land are Kane Basin on the north and Baffin Bay on the south, with Smith Sound connecting the two. The temperature of the sea-water is nearly always near freezing, so that the carbon dioxide content is very high. Kane Basin is frozen over from October to July, and even throughout the summer is filled with more or less drifting ice. Baffin Bay, the so-called North Water of the whaling fleets, is more or less open throughout the year, though there are great fields of drifting ice, except in unusual summer seasons, when the bay becomes almost clear, save for scattered bergs which are always floating about. Inglefield Gulf, Wolstenholme Sound, Melville Bay and the numerous smaller bays are almost every winter solidly frozen over from November to June so that sledging is possible throughout the period.

In Smith Sound the tides and currents between Kane Basin and Baffin Bay run so strongly that even in the coldest, closest seasons the water does not freeze over. Open water rarely lies far from the shore, and at Cape Alexander, Cape Parry, and at Cape Atholl, extends in to the very ice-foot. Not once in a lifetime can an Eskimo sledge around Cape Alexander.

The islands off the mouths of the gulfs and bays are an important factor in the freezing of the waters which they help enclose, and their favorable effect tends to extend the solid icefields farther out into the sea than would otherwise be possible. Without these islands the heavy southwest winds, sweeping over the open water of Baffin Bay, would destroy the ordinary ice-lay far into the fjords. Submerged shoals and ledges lying near the mouths of Wolstenholme Sound, Inglefield Gulf, and Foulke Fjord aid in protecting the ice.

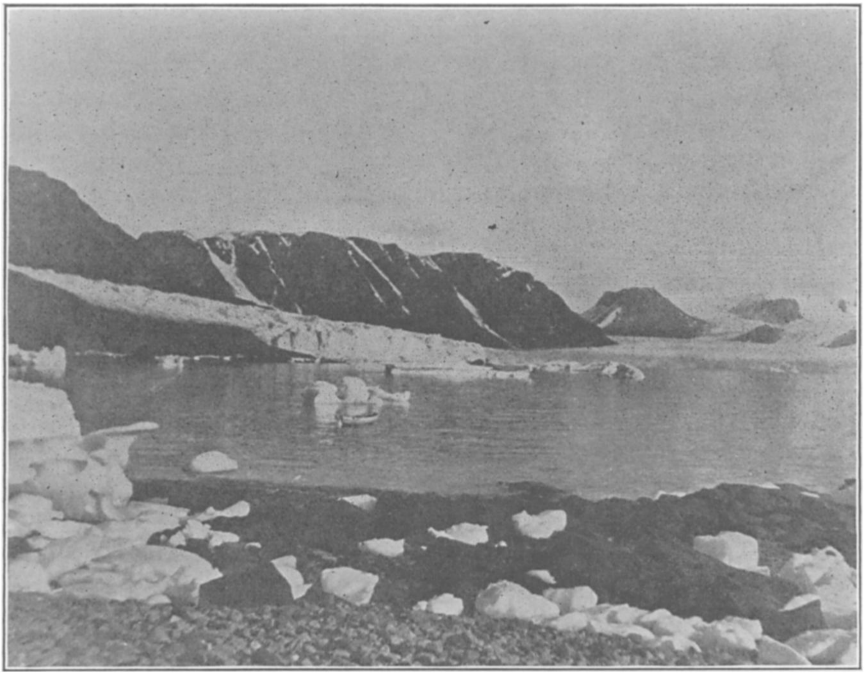

FIG. 2. View from camp at Sagwahdi, Greenland, showing plateau close to shore, a glacier, and icebergs. (Photograph by D. B. MacMillan. By courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.)

Everywhere along the coast the ice-foot begins forming in late August or early September, and persists far into July or even August of the following year. The ice-foot is that part of the sea-ice which freezes fast to the shore and does not move up and down with the tides, or float away when the ice goes out before the winds or with the tides. The ice-foot varies in width from only a yard or two along high precipitous shores, to a hundred yards or more on a gently sloping beach.

The tides play an important part in the formation of the ice and likewise in its permanence. In seasons when the ice forms at the time of the neap tides it is usually firm and smooth; if at the time of the spring tides it is usually more or less broken and rough. Throughout the winter the ice is solidest and safest during the neap tides, and most broken and treacherous at the time of the spring tides.

The high, narrow plateau between the ice-cap and the sea which becomes free of ice and snow in summer is nowhere more than forty miles wide. The northern portion from Foulke Fjord northward, and the southern portion from Cape Atholl southward is Laurentian gneiss and granite; the area between Cape Atholl and Foulke Fjord is Huronian sandstones, limestones and shales, intersected by dark traps and diabases. The Huronian coast line is much broken with narrow beaches at the mouths of the valleys and along the gentler slopes; and the land-surface is varied with high sharp mountains and deep canyon-like valleys in places, lower rounded hills and broad valleys in other places. The Laurentian coast line is smoother, but with very few beaches, and the land surface is more uniformly high and deeply dissected. Everywhere the topography is comparatively rugged.

This coastal belt is intersected by numerous glaciers of which most reach the sea, though many do not. The larger areas of plateau, and the larger islands have their own detached ice-caps, and it is from these as well as from the great, main continental ice-cap that the glaciers originate. Of some of the glaciers the edges and faces are high and steep; of others the gradient is gentler. The larger and more active glaciers discharge great numbers of huge icebergs into the waters upon which they debouch.

The mineral resources of this land belt are negligible. Except for small deposits of pyrites and soapstone, and the iron-nickel meteorites, none are available for use by the Eskimo.

Climatic Factors

With the large extent of open water along the coast even in mid-winter, the temperature rarely drops down to more than fifty degrees Fahrenheit below zero, much higher than extreme winter temperatures in Siberia or Canada. Even with an extensive ice-lay the temperature is modified by the water, through crevices and open pools, though if the ice be deeply and generally covered by heavy snow the temperature is lowered. The highest summer temperature is 55 to 60 degrees above zero Fahrenheit. Along some of the high cliffs the temperature is raised adiabatically when the air drops down from the ice-cap, so that in certain favorable localities the temperature never falls below 40 degrees below zero Fahrenheit.

The temperature rises high enough about mid-June to melt the ice and snow; melting ceases again about mid-August. By mid-September the sea-ice begins to form permanently in the fjords and deeper bays. The bays and fjords are generally occupied throughout the summer by drifting fields of ice; rarely are they free of icebergs.

Snow falls in every month of the year, but the first snows of summer that do not melt are those of late August or early September. The depth of snow, even after a winter's accumulation, is rarely over two or three feet, because the relative humidity is frequently so low that a great deal of snow evaporates even in the coldest weather. When the snow begins melting in June under the continuous sunlight, every canyon and valley holds a roaring torrential mountain stream which flows with heavy volume until melting ceases. Rain rarely falls; yet when the chinook comes down off the ice-cap, rain may fall even in January. The region is one of general low humidity.

The winds are cyclonic in character. The heaviest storms come from the southwest with destructive on-shore winds. In the bays and fjords the winds invariably blow down to the sea from the ice-cap, no matter what the wind may be above the plateau. Sudden winds sometimes sweep down off the plateau or from the ice-cap and drive the shore-ice out to sea even in mid-winter.

The period of continuous night begins about mid-October and ends about mid-February. Continuous sunlight begins about mid-April and lasts until mid-August. Between mid-February and mid-April the days lengthen and the nights shorten; between mid-August and mid-October the days shorten and the nights lengthen. The night is rarely so dark as to stop traveling or sledging entirely, and throughout the moonlighted periods during which the moonlight is continuous, all activities can be carried on without difficulty. During the period of continuous sunshine, noon and midnight do not differ greatly in temperature or intensity of light. The air is always fresh and clean.

BIOTIC FACTORS

Because of the short growing season and the long dry cold period no trees or shrubs grow in the homeland of the Polar Eskimo. The tallest tree is the Arctic willow, a scant three inches in height. Over a hundred species of vascular plants grow in the region. The sedges, blue grasses, and similar grassy plants grow luxuriantly. Two are particularly abundant—*Poa pratensis* and *Alopecurus alpinus*. On some of the talus slopes manured by nesting birds, the mat of grasses is thick and heavy. Mushrooms are common and lichens clothe the rocks. Flowering plants, though small and relatively inconspicuous, grow in dense mats on favorable slopes where the sun shines warmly, and moisture is ample.

Due in large measure to the rich carbon dioxide content of the water and the continuous sunlight, the plankton development in the sea is incredibly rich throughout the summer, and the heavy growths of laminaria and other sea weeds on every shoal ledge are particularly luxuriant.

The bird life in incredibly abundant, not in species but in individuals. Of the land birds the ptarmigan and snow-bunting are the most common. Shore-birds, ravens, snowy owls and falcons are rather numerous. The ptarmigan, ravens, and snowy owls are permanent residents. Of the seabirds the dovekies are the most numerous. They nest in suitable slopes of easy gradient along the entire coast in such numbers that they cover the sea when feeding and darken the sky when in flight. Almost as numerous as the dovekies are the murres, that nest on the ledges of the steeper shore cliffs along the coast. The eider duck frequents the coast in thousands, and the black brant is common. Kittiwakes, guillemots, gulls, jaegers, and fulmars are numerous. All the seabirds find an abundant supply of food in the small life of the cold, well-lighted waters off the shore.

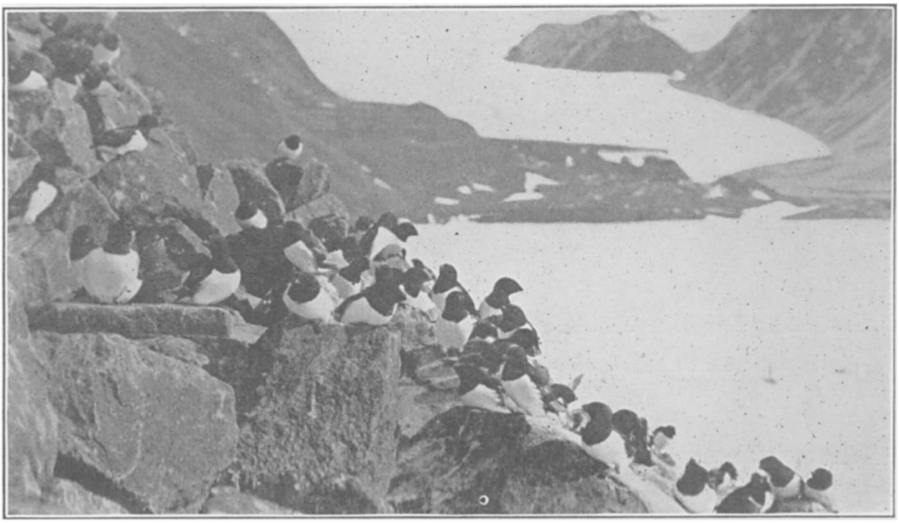

FIG. 3. Near view of little auks on a talus slope, showing abundance of bird life. (Photograph by D. B. MacMillan. By courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.)

Animal life on land is relatively scarce. The muskox is extinct along the Greenland shores of Smith Sound though still common in Ellesmereland, Grantland, and westward. The caribou, though still fairly abundant, is generally restricted to a few isolated areas not readily accessible. The Arctic hare is widely distributed and common. The blue fox and the white fox are abundant in the bird-cliff localities where they feed upon both the eggs and the birds. The Arctic wolf is almost extinct, and the lemming and the ermine do not frequent this part of the Greenland Coast. The muskox, caribou and hare feed upon the willows, grasses, and small herbs; the wolf and fox feed upon the birds and the hare; the wolf also feeds upon the muskox and the caribou.

The sea animals, because of the ample supply of food, are very numerous. Four species of seal—the ring seal, the bearded seal, the hooded seal, and the harp seal—are all rather common, though the ring seal is by far the most abundant. The walrus frequents the coast during the whole year, especially when the mussel-shoals furnish good feeding grounds. The narwhal and the white whale are numerous. The killer whale and the bowhead, and occasionally the right whale, visit the coast. The sleeper shark feeds over the deeper bottom.

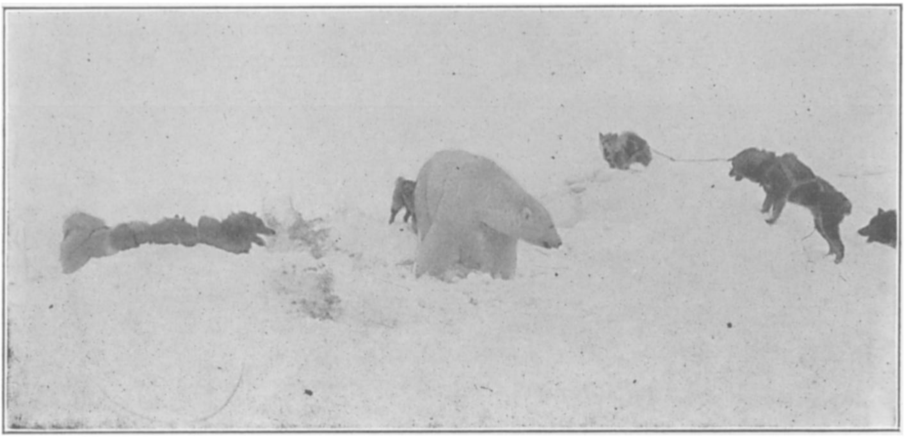

FIG. 4. Polar bear at bay. (Photograph by D. B. MacMillan. By courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.)

The polar bear, an animal of both land and sea, is as much as home out on the open sea among the icebergs as along the shore. He avoids all habitations of man, particularly when there are dogs about. Keen of scent and of all perceptions, as well as of intelligence, the polar bear is certainly the most superb animal of the North, though not nearly so dangerous as the walrus.

THE ESKIMO RESPONSE TO ENVIRONMENT

It is in such an environment that the Polar Eskimo live. To this environment their every thought, their every activity, is shaped. Their character, their culture, their industry, are determined by the habitat.

Villages and Group Organization.—To speak of the Polar Eskimo as a tribe is hardly proper, since they have no tribal organization, no chief, no authority. Theirs is an ideal anarchy, the only law they know being the natural restrictions of their habitat, and the inherent orderliness of their natures. The villages are groups of two, or three, or four families gathered together in places accessible to the sea, at the mouth of some valley or canyon which affords a beach for the landing of the canoes and the carcasses of game, which furnishes a stream of water for summer use, and which opens a way into the hills or up to the ice-cap. The families usually stay but a year, sometimes two years, in any village. This movement from village to village is not merely because of nomad desire for change but because the hunting grounds near any one village supply only a narrow variety of game for food and of the different skins and furs needed for clothing.

The villages are from thirty to sixty miles apart, generally of easy communication throughout the ice-season but quite separated after the ice has gone out. A few of the villages, where game is most varied and abundant, are occupied year after year and then abandoned for a while as the game moves from one place to another.

Travel.—The Eskimo are great visitors. As soon as the sea ice becomes strong enough along the coast—generally in early November—the Eskimo begin to travel from village to village. Their sledges and harnesses are in good repair, their dogs in fine fettle, and their families eager to see their friends and relatives. Most of the traveling is done on the sea-ice, but when occasion demands they sledge over the ice-cap or along the coastal valleys. After the snow is gone, and the sea-ice broken up, they may still travel along the coast for a month or more on the ice-foot, the royal Arctic boulevard. In summer the men travel about in kayaks, the decked-over sealskin canoes; but as a rule they do not venture far from home. The umiak or woman's boat is not used among the Polar Eskimo.

The Family.—The family is based upon economic factors rather than on reciprocal sexual monopoly. The woman requires a husband to bring her game for food, and fuel, and clothing for herself and her children; to take her from place to place; to help her build the stone house; and to put up the sealskin tent. The man requires a wife to tan his skins, to sew his clothing, to cook his food, and to look after the dogs he leaves behind when he is on the trail. The husband assumes the responsibility for providing for his wife's children, whether they be his or some other man's.

The Home.—In summer the Eskimo live in roomy sealskin tents or tupiks, which they set up and move into as soon as the first snow-bunting comes, even though they must scrape away a considerable depth of snow to do so. These tupiks are airy, light, comfortable homes, well ventilated and healthful. Throughout the pleasant weather of summer the tupiks are almost unoccupied; except when sleeping or when the storms rage the Eskimo live out of doors.

In winter they live in stone houses covered with turf and snow, called igloos. Entrance to the igloos is by a tunnel and a hole in the floor always open, through which the heavy impure air escapes. A single window in the front wall of the igloo, with a pane of dried sealskin intestines, lets in a little light. The rear half of the igloo is occupied by the bed platform raised eighteen inches to two feet above the floor; either side of the remaining space is occupied by small platforms upon which the lamps burn, and things are kept. For the escape of the lighter impure air, a hole is opened in the top of the igloo whenever the flames in the lamps indicate by their dullness and their lower flare that the air is growing foul. When this hole is opened a vigorous circulation is set up, the air quickly purified, and the lamps resume their brilliancy and fullness of flame. The hole is then again plugged with grass. An ordinary igloo is maintained at a temperature of from 60 to 70 degrees. When once warmed, the rocks of the walls and roof, well insulated by the mantle of turf and snow, retain their heat for a long time.

On the trail, and sometimes when the igloos are too few in number at a village, the Eskimo build snow houses for temporary shelters. Built of blocks of snow of just the proper consistency to retain heat, and not to break down, these snow houses are admirable temporary homes, particularly when they are lined with furs or skins. In size and interior arrangement they are similar to the igloos.

Dress.—The Eskimo dress exclusively in skins and furs. The men wear birdskin shirts made from the breasts of dovekies, murres, guillemots, or eiders, rabbit-skin stockings, sealskin, caribou-skin, or bearskin boots, the two latter only in winter at times of exceeding cold, a sealskin coat in summer, and a foxskin or caribou-skin coat in winter, bearskin trousers in summer and winter, and sealskin or bearskin mittens. The rabbit-skin stockings are essential—without them the Eskimo could not live because of frozen feet. The bearskin trousers are also essential—in summer or winter they are comfortable, and because they shed water readily they are the best possible material for hunting at sea or on the wet ice of early summer.

The skins and furs used for clothing are tanned by chewing. The Eskimo women who do the tanning begin chewing when they are four or five years old and chew all the rest of their lives. There are no materials for tanning in the far North; and besides, leather tanned as ours freezes stiff and is worthless in extreme cold. The clothing is sewed with sinew-thread from the flanks of the caribou or narwhal, and a needle made from a hare's tooth ground thin, or small bones from birds.

The secret of keeping warm in the far North lies in keeping dry, and fur clothes are much more easily kept dry than are woolens. Snow can readily be beaten out of fur clothing, but only with difficulty out of woolen garments.

Food and Fuel.—Like the clothing, the food and fuel of the Polar Eskimo comes almost solely from animals. Only rarely do the Eskimo eat any of their native plants, and then rather as a curiosity and not as a *real* food. Every animal supplies part of the diet, and nothing of an animal carcass is thrown away. The land animals, though furnishing much of the clothing, constitute a relatively small part of the Eskimo food supply, either for himself or his family or for his dogs, and of the land birds only the ptarmigan plays any part in the dietary. Neither the land birds nor the land animals contribute anything toward the fuel supply.

It is upon the sea birds and the sea animals that the Eskimo depend for much of their clothing and practically all of their food and fuel. The millions of dovekies, and the thousands of murres and eiders and guillemots which frequent the coast supply an easy store of meat and eggs which can readily be put away for winter times of scarcity of game and consequent stress. The ring seal is the staff of life to the Polar Eskimo, because he can be obtained readily along the whole coast throughout the year, except in times of unusual weather or ice conditions. He furnishes skins for clothing, tents and boats, meat for food, and blubber for fuel. The other seals contribute in minor degree to the living of the Eskimo, though the bearded seal supplies the splendid leather for boot-soles, dogtraces, sledge lashings, and harpoon lines. The walrus furnishes the great supply of dog-food necessary, and his tusks the ivory for harpoon heads and points and other essential artifacts. The white whale and narwhal furnish meat for food, much blubber for fuel, and sinew for thread; and the narwhal's tusk of ivory is shaped to many implements of household and hunting use.

With the exception of pyrites for lighting fire, soapstone for lamps and pots, and meteoritic iron for small knife blades, the sole resources for the Eskimo living and culture come from animals—meat for food, skins and furs for clothing, tents, and boats, ivory and bone for needles, hunting implements and household implements, sinew for thread, and blubber for fuel.

Occupations.—Consequently the sole occupation of the Polar Eskimo is hunting the animals which afford these supplies and preparing for use the products thus obtained. The men kill the larger game and such smaller game as involves hazard or hardship in the hunting. The women, sometimes aided by the men, catch the birds, trap the foxes and hares, spear the salmon in the lakes, and gather the eggs. The men do most of the work caring for the dogs, sledges, harness, and hunting equipment, and the heavy work of homebuilding and boatbuilding. Theirs is a community of work, both in the family and the village, essentially efficient, without any thought of men's rights or women's rights. The producer is the consumer; the distributor and all attendant workers are unknown. Life is simple and direct.

Character.—The whole character of the Eskimo is in accord with this simplicity and directness. Essentially kind, and soft-spoken and gentle, hospitable to a fault, care free and independent as the birds, honest beyond our understanding, he is an admirable character. Even his way of thinking is simple and direct, and shaped by his environment. To illustrate, his psychology of time differs radically from ours. Because of the long day and night, time, to the Eskimo, is not a succession of defined intervals, but a continuous flow or current. He eats when hungry, drinks when thirsty, and sleeps when sleepy—no schedule for him.

The Present Transition.—But the recent contact with the white race is changing his mode of life, his culture, his character, so that they are no longer solely the effect of his environment. The introduction of lumber and iron has improved his sledge so that he can travel farther. The primus stove and Standard Oil Company kerosene have further extended his activities and his range of travel. Rifles and ammunition have transformed his hunting methods and increased his stores of food, clothing, and fuel, and made hunting and living easier. Needles, and thread, and cloth, and cooking implements have immeasurably aided the Eskimo woman. Tea, coffee, and tobacco are insidiously weakening the Eskimo physique. By contact with foreigners the Eskimo is losing his native honesty, independence, and sterling character. He is changing so fast that in another decade or two he will be quite another person. His direct relationship to his homeland will be lost and his dependence upon the exterior world finally established. The demoralization of the Polar Eskimo as a distinct social unit is imminent and inevitable.

SUMMARY

The open water of Smith Sound tempers the climate of Northwest Greenland and makes conditions possible for human life.

The rich carbon dioxide content of the open water is the primary source of food for a multitudinous sea life. The birds, the seals, the walrus that inhabit these waters directly furnish food, fuel, clothing, and all materials for the Eskimo living.

The dovekies manure the slopes so that a wealth of grass for hare and caribou herbage grows. The hares and caribou are invaluable to the domestic economy of the Polar Eskimo.

The dovekies and their eggs furnish food for the foxes. The foxes are necessary to the life of the Polar Eskimo.

The walrus furnishes dog-food. Without an abundant supply of meat the Eskimo could keep no dogs; without dogs he could not travel about to the hunting grounds as game changes. He could not survive.

These simple essential relationships are being modified by the introduction of exterior factors. The well-nigh perfect adaptation of the Eskimo to his environment is being destroyed. His homeland is no longer adequate to his needs. His whole mode of life is changing.

Finally—Will the Eskimo himself survive this profound change?